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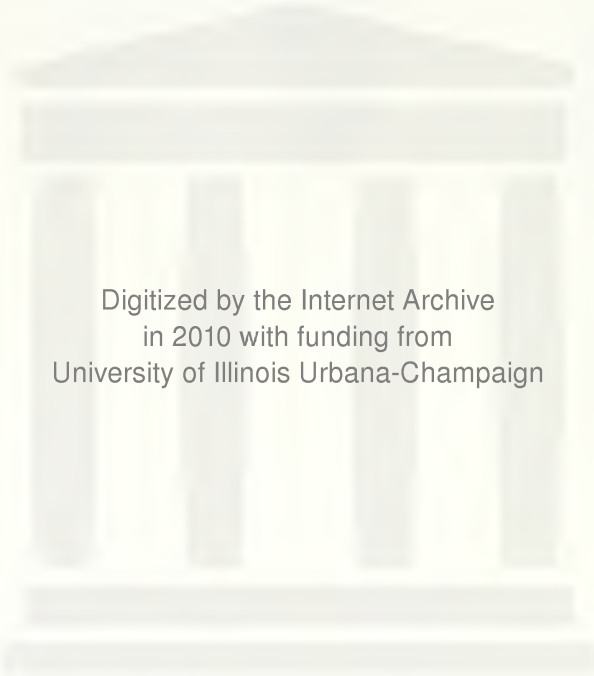
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August 1972

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**GUIDE TO THE LITERATURE OF CITIES: Abstracts And Bibliography**  
**Part IV: Urban Housing**

Morris Zeitlin

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## GUIDE TO THE LITERATURE OF CITIES:

## ABSTRACTS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

## PART IV: URBAN HOUSING

by

Morris Zeitlin

## INTRODUCTION

Most urban land is used for housing, and most housing in big cities stands within slums and gray areas -- the sites of our "housing problem." There never was a general "housing problem" in cities. There only was and is a working-class low-rent housing problem in that what there is of such housing is bad and the bad housing there is, is scarce. Much heralded government low-rent housing and slum-clearance programs have been sporadic, niggardly, and easily diverted by bankers and real estaters to serve their own ends. Where slums had been cleared -- high-rent, high-profit housing usurped most of the land and pushed their dislocated low-income residents to extend the slums elsewhere. Thus, slums were not cleared. They were moved and spread.

Government housing policy has favored the suburbs, centered on small-house construction, and goaded working-class families into home ownership. It played on old racist prejudices by offering a refuge from "undesirable neighbors." This, the post-war housing backlog, and emphasis on private transportation explain both its choice and success. It has profited financiers, land speculators and developers, highway builders, the automobile industry, and local politicians, which explains the political support it has enjoyed. But it has profited far less the working class for whom

plentiful good rental housing has always been and remains economically, socially, culturally and politically more expedient. Engels demonstrated this in 1872 and housing experts confirmed it many times since.

The selected literature, spanning across 100 years, reveals the nature of the chronic housing problem in our society, shows why it remains unsolved, and proves the fallacy of reformist tenets. Clearly, the contradictions inherent in the structure of our society make solution of the low-rent housing problem impossible except on a limited scale, under popular pressure, and in times of political upheaval.

## URBAN HOUSING

## ABSTRACTS OF SELECTED WORKS

Engels, Frederick. The Housing Question. Edited by C. P. Dutt.  
New York: International Publishers, undated, 103pp.

An 1872 criticism of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois-socialist (Proudhonist) solutions to the housing shortage in the expanding German cities. The law of supply and demand in the capitalist economy, explains Engels, operates to limit the production of low-cost housing. The resulting housing shortage and slums affect the social interests of the bourgeois, petty-bourgeois, and working classes in different ways.

To follow job opportunities, improve its wage bargaining position, and adjust to economic and family changes, the working class needs mobility. It must therefore eschew the bondage of home ownership. Its housing needs are met best by an ample supply of low-rent apartments. Its prime political interest lies in changing the social order, not in housing reforms.

But the locationally more stable middle class, sharing in the profits of the bourgeoisie, aspires to advantageous housing reforms within the capitalist order and seeks the political support of the working class to achieve them. Its ideologues, like Proudhon, avoid scientific analysis of society and tend to moralistic, "practical," and historically regressive social propositions. Engels points to theoretical fallacies in Proudhon's home- and apartment-ownership proposal and to the impracticality of schemes which "want to maintain the basis of all the evils of present-day society and at the same time...want to abolish the evils themselves."

Engels attributes the bourgeoisie's concern with the housing question to its desire to reclaim high-priced slum-occupied land for profit making. Despite health measures and sanitary laws, he shows, capitalism produces slum evils inevitably. Unable to explain their social causes, bourgeois ideologues explain them away with moral phrases. To obtain this land, the bourgeoisie resorts to "Hausmanism" -- arbitrary slum demolition -- in the name of public health, city beautification, business-district expansion, or traffic congestion. But Hausmanism merely shifts the slums. For "the same economic necessity which produces them in the first place, produces them in the next place also." It reduces the supply and increases the rent of workers' dwellings "for...the building industry, which is offered a much better field of speculation by more expensive houses, builds workers' dwellings only by way of excetion."

Engels examines the proposals for co-operative housing, building associations, lowering legal construction standards, and government loans to support low-rent housing construction and points to the failure of such measures to solve the housing question in England. He concludes: "as long as the capitalist mode of production continues to exist, it is folly to hope for an isolated solution of the housing question.... The solution lies in the abolition of the capitalist mode of production and the appropriation of all the means of life by the working class itself."

Dean, John P. Home Ownership: Is It Sound? New York: Harper and Brothers, 1945. 215pp. Tables. Charts. Bibliography.

Homes are "aids to healthy family living," states Dean, not merely a commodity useful to the real estate industry." With this approach he: (1) Analyzes "the confused setting in which families purchase homes, influenced as they are by conflicting cultural values, pressures from business and government, and varying market conditions." (2) Describes "the relation of homeownership to basic family values, with special regard to conditions under which those values are imperilled by purchasing a home." (3) Evaluates "the place of homeownership in the broad movement of housing and planning." (4) Discusses the merits and liabilities, under various conditions, of renting, buying, or building a home. (5) Explains the dynamics of the real estate market, the selling tactics of house marketers, and the hazards to the home buyers under unfavorable time and conditions of purchase. (6) Examines and debunks the common arguments for homeownership, identifies the home selling groups, and documents their and the federal government's promotional tactics.

Some of the author's comments and conclusions:

1. Buying a home involves most American families in a choice between "settling down" or being ready to move in search of a better job. Reckless high-pressure promotion of homeownership confuses and frustrates family life. Susceptible to the urge to own, the prospective home buyer "may overburden himself financially, handicap his family, tie himself down to a structure which may cease to serve his purposes, and thus impair other values he holds more dear than home ownership."
2. For some families, under some conditions, buying some homes may be good. But knowing when and what house to buy is difficult, for high-pressure real estate promotion deliberately sows confusion. It raises homeownership to a status symbol, glorifies it as patriotic virtue, charges it with emotion around the idea of "home," urges it as a freedom from landlords, a good environment for child rearing, a good investment, a good way to save, a security for old age, and pads it with other "values tangential to the... family's long-run welfare."

3. "Widespread susceptibility to homeownership may perpetuate a housing tradition which falls far short and blocks the achievement of the types of homes and communities which enlightened housing and planning can now build...."
4. The government can identify the risks of buying a home and use the information to guide prospective home buyers. But "it is unlikely that Washington will see fit to venture on any fact-finding likely to impair the free field open to housing interests." Some day, when we face ownership simply as a housing problem, we "will no doubt look back on our time as an era in which society encouraged its families to stride ahead through a field deliberately sown with booby traps."

Mumford, Lewis. "A New Approach to Workers' Housing." International Labor Review, Vol. LXXV, No. 2, February 1957, pp. 93-103.

Mumford reviews the history of the housing reform movement which started as a reaction to England's mid-nineteenth century industrial slums. He shows how the two approaches the movement took then led to the apartment buildings and the suburbs of today, and analyzes the failure of both to fill the housing needs of low-income families and to develop the amenities and culture of cities.

Mumford argues that housing can no longer be reduced to mere provision of shelter. In an age of increasing regimentation and automation, a chance to develop variety, autonomy, adaptability and initiative must be restored to the family unit. Therefore, "the total environment and not just the domestic nest must be included in the concept of housing."

He concludes that:

1. None of the current short-run housing programs can produce good housing and environments for any but the top income groups.
2. Neither state aid nor rationalized construction can, by themselves, promise substantial urban progress.
3. The traditional negative approach of correcting evils must give way to the positive, rational and integrated planning and rebuilding of neighborhoods and cities. Such planning should consider the total long-range costs, to society, of land, money, utilities, maintenance, administration, services, education, recreation, health, culture and family life.

4. The large and increasing government aid that will be needed for neighborhood and city rebuilding should be used to:  
(a) liquidate excessive land values in crowded urban areas;  
(b) replan the land at low population densities and provide ample open spaces; (c) build lasting and sound housing and community facilities to be amortized over a span of several generations.

Jensen, Rolf. High Density Living. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Inc., 1966. 245pp. Profusely illustrated. Photos. Plans. Tables. Diagrams. Selected bibliography.

Discussing the realities of housing in big cities, Jensen refutes criticism of high-density living leveled by advocates of suburban low-density development. He examines scores of multi-story, high-density housing developments built recently in many countries, and compares them with low-density suburban and new-town developments, and analyzes their town and site planning, traffic, building bulk, land coverage, and open-space ratios; floor plans, construction, mechanical equipment, fire protection, and refuse disposal; ownership; costs of land, utilities, maintenance, and management; privacy, noise, commuting, recreational facilities, and suitability for different family types; sociological and psychological factors. Most of the volume comprises photos and drawings of distinguished high-density housing projects, each briefly described.

Among the author's findings and conclusions:

1. In all urbanized countries, growing city populations have spurred urban development and high-rise apartment living at high densities.
2. People have adjusted to densities between the extremes of 3000 persons per acre in Hong Kong to 12 persons per acre in suburbs. Climatic and environmental conditions, availability of water, sewerage and other services, the prevailing standards of living, habits of residents, and typical family's composition and needs, determine the acceptable population density between the two extremes.
3. "Bad living conditions...may derive from lack of light, air, and sunshine; from overcrowding in terms of physical closeness, or from lack of space for cooking or personal hygiene. But they do not necessarily follow from people living at high density in terms of dwellings per acre."
4. The traditional rules of thumb used in density planning are arbitrary. "The unit of measurement of persons or dwellings per acre taken alone can be misleading.... It does not reveal the number of persons per dwelling or...per room, and it cannot therefore indicate the amount of living space per person."

5. Given skillful design, high-density residential development may be cheaper than cottage development when all relevant cost factors, personal and social, are considered.
6. Slums result from bad design, bad planning, bad construction, misuse and poor maintenance of buildings in either high- moderate- or low-density neighborhoods. "High densities as such are...not likely alone to produce slum conditions, but rather...where coupled with good planning and good design, are likely to have the reverse effect."
7. Anti-city attitudes notwithstanding, man's gregariousness is extremely strong. "The urbano-phobia conjured up by some sociological writers and town planners is largely a figment of their imaginations; unlike the very real malady... (of) the 'New Town Blues', brought on by loneliness of suburban isolation."
8. "There are powerful vested interests in scatteration and sprawl...an alliance of commercialism and social obscurantism has seriously confused (the issue of urban housing and planning)." Most city people cannot be rehoused in 'garden city' cottages. Good living environments and dwelling units, including privacy for the family and the individual, can be achieved best and at the lowest cost, for most people, through good design and planning at high densities.

Rosenman, Dorothy. A Million Homes A Year. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1945. 333pp. Tables. Charts. Bibliography.

The work examines the many ramifications of the low-cost, low-rent housing problem in the United States at the end of World War II, with special emphasis on housing thought and action during the New Deal and war years. It analyzes the social and economic elements of housing and the current housing proposals advanced by real-estate interests, government authorities, reformers, and technical experts. It presents factual information and statistical data in support of some proposals and in refutation of others.

Some of the author's conclusions:

1. Shelter, like food, is a basic necessity. To succeed, "the capitalist system must find a way to either raise present wage levels without raising the cost of essentials, or to lower the cost of essentials so they fall within the reach of present wage levels."

2. To provide low-cost housing, the costs of finance, land, land development, construction, operation, and real-property taxes must be radically reduced. Such reduction is not possible without close co-operation between business, labor and science to remove the archaic social and technical methods used in providing American housing.
3. Private enterprise might provide housing for the "upper rungs of the lower income groups" but only if it could be "induced to build on a limited-return basis and construction costs and taxes were reduced. But there is no way of providing housing for the lowest income levels "except through the use of public funds."
4. Without government intervention on the local, metropolitan, state, and federal levels, the causes of community decay cannot be eliminated.
5. Job insecurity, especially in a period of industry (and job) decentralization, should prompt workers to resist builders' propaganda for home ownership.

Bauer, Catherine. Modern Housing. New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1934. 331pp. Illustrated. Plans. Diagrams. Charts. Selected bibliography.

A treatise on post World War I European accomplishments in modern housing.

Part One of the volume's four parts is a short history of 19-th century housing in western Europe and its underlying economic, political, social and cultural determinants. Expanding industry and commerce and laissez-faire ideology beget slums, disease and epidemics. Speculative chaos and the introduction of sanitary and restrictive codes raise the cost of land, utilities, financing and building. Rising rents and lagging wages increase crowdedness. Reformism appears, impelled by fear of epidemics and revolution. Napoleon's "city planning." The upper class escapes into isolated villas.

Part Two records the development of the advance guard in city planning and housing thought. The utopians Rober Owen, Fourier and others. Buckingham's bourgeois utopia. Paternalism: John Ruskin and Octavia Hill. Enlightened employers. Advocacy of changes in the social structure: reformist co-operative associations and housing; Friedrich Engels versus the housing reformers. Municipal capitalism and city planning in Germany. The Fabians, labor and housing in England. A modern utopia: Ebenezer Howard's Garden City. Patrick Geddes' new science of planning (regionalism).

Part Three cites facts and figures on housing in post World War I Europe. The direct and indirect causes of radical changes in housing production methods: housing shortage, rising costs and rents; long general dissatisfaction with the



old residential environment; a long tradition of municipal responsibilities and planning; above all -- organized political demand. The houses built and the means: housing becomes a public utility; investment of public funds; subsidies; control over the form, quality, rent scales, and financial set-up. The construction agencies: direct governmental construction; the housing society; position of private enterprise. An appendix to Part Three gives brief histories of housing policies, measures, and achievements before and after World War I in several countries.

Part Four discusses the elements of modern housing. Minimum housing standards: theory and practice; post World War I standards in the United States. The Community Unit: what it is; economical use of land versus speculative profit. Location of housing: centers of cities versus their outskirts. Layout and building arrangement: the use of, and experience with, the super-block in England and Germany. Building types and dwelling plans: the use and experience with one-family houses and multiple dwellings. Construction: tradition and experiment; rationalization; lapse in technical progress as mass unemployment lowers labor costs. Architecture: monuments and vernacular; modern housing and modern architecture in Europe. Economics and economies: costs and rent levels; typical cost and rent schedules of small houses and apartments.

Some of Catherine Bauer's observations and conclusions:

1. Good housing for the average citizen "is not a 'normal' product of a capitalist society." It can be achieved only through consumer demand "strong enough to over-balance the weight of real estate and allied interests on the other side."
2. The housing problem cannot be solved without an equitable distribution of purchasing power. Relatively few of Europe's post World War I modern dwellings reached the lowest income group.
3. "The complete neighborhood, and not the individual house or apartment building, must be the unit of planning, of finance, of construction, and of administration."
4. Whenever a housing problem in a capitalist democracy cleared slums paying high land prices, it always compromised the goal of building a maximum of good housing cheaply and quickly. The most effective attack on the slums is the indirect one: building modern housing on undeveloped land, clearing profitless blighted areas, and condemning unsanitary buildings. The raised standards of demand and the deflated market value of slums would ripen the latter for clearance.

5. Building new well-planned cities, rationally placed with respect to natural resources, industries and transportation, is the only way to undo the anachronisms inherited from the 19-th century. "To do this, however, is apparently quite impossible within the present class-property-profit economic system." However, European experience has shown that municipal governments, even within a private enterprise system, can build modern housing provided they "have the power to regulate location and standards of new construction and to purchase large areas of land as they see fit."

Beyer, Glenn H. Housing and Society. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1965. 595pp. Illustrated. Tables. Maps. Photos. Charts. Diagrams. Bibliography.

A major revision of the author's earlier work Housing: A Factual Analysis, this volume, intended as a college textbook, is a comprehensive report and source book on the social aspects of housing. Though it reviews theoretical concepts, it stresses their application and concentrates on facts rather than opinion.

Beyer divides his work into five parts. The first, introductory, part offers a general background. It reviews the history of American cities and housing from its origins to the present, and sociological studies of American cultural and ethnic differences, class structure, socio-economic stratification, standards of living, urban, suburban and rural differences. The second focuses on financing and production in the housing market. The third describes acquisition and consumption of housing, home ownership, housing design, and residential neighborhoods. The fourth discusses the general housing problems, future housing needs, and housing research. The fifth treats housing in western Europe, England, and the developing countries.

The work includes data from the 1960 national Census of Population and Housing and from other sources, and provides a glossary of terms and separate bibliographies for each principal subject in each chapter.

Seeley, John R. "The Slum: Its Nature, Use, and Users," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Vol. XXV, No. 1, February 1959, pp. 7-14.

Seeley analyzes the nature of slums to reveal the possibilities for slum renewal or clearance. Most possible lines of action, he finds, lie in the national socio-economic-political framework, only one is open to city planning. Even this one -- decongestion and rebuilding -- is limited because: (1) powerful groups in cities, outside of the slums, have vested interests in the continued existence of the slums, and (2) many slum dwellers have deeply rooted attachments to the slums; their forced relocation creates many serious social problems.

Seeley presents a case illustration in which he identifies the various types of slum dwellers and the varied and complex interests affected by relocation.

When steps are taken to redevelop a slum, the author concludes, the results may vary depending on the steps taken and the people involved. What happens mostly, however, "is a redistribution of (slum) phenomena in space...it is rather like a resifting and resorting...with results both 'good' and 'bad'.... In this process 'opportunities are created for some and destroyed for others...certainly, lifelong adjustments...are overset, disturbed, interrupted, or destroyed...and it is not clear at all that the balance is tipped in favor of those who initially had least -- perhaps, rather, the contrary."

Gray, George Herbert. Housing and Citizenship: A Study of Low-Cost Housing. New York: Reinhold Publishing Corp., 1946. 254pp. Photos. Tables. Diagrams. Plans. Maps. Charts. Selected bibliography.

Gray roundly examines housing and slums within the social, economic, political and physical contexts of cities and rural communities. He deplores the "demoralizing and vicious influence of the overcrowded and unsanitary environment" of one-third of the nation and presents a humanitarian and moral argument for raising the level of the nation's citizenship and civilization.

The book:

1. Reviews the history of housing and the housing movement in the United States.
2. Examines the housing experience of England, Holland, Denmark, Germany, France and Russia -- their policies, design standards, and methods of financing and construction.

3. Evaluates the federal housing policies and accomplishments since the 1930's and considers the political, economic and social principles of government aid to low-cost housing.
4. Discusses the nature, culture, and trends of the people to be housed.
5. Examines housing cost determinants.
6. Reviews and illustrates housing design and planning.

The recent trend in American history, Gray observes, has been toward return to the nation's original democratic principles of equal opportunity for all. He urges a new federal housing policy for immediate large-scale production of low-rent housing.

The first of the book's two appendixes reviews and appraises the accomplishments of the several federal housing agencies. The second comprises a selected bibliography on housing.

Straus, Nathan. The Seven Myths of Housing. New York: Alfred Knopf, 1944. 314pp.

In his effort to dispel landlord propaganda against public housing, the former Administrator of the United States Housing Authority:

1. Reviews subsidized housing experience after World War I in Europe and in the United States;
2. Compares and explains the differences between U.S. and European (especially British) housing policies;
3. Explains the federal public housing policy and laws in the light of land and housing economics;
4. Summarizes and refutes the arguments raised since the 1890's against government intervention in housing;
5. Reveals the strategy and tactics of the real-estate lobby's attack on public housing;
6. Criticizes municipal tax policies as generators of slums, and proposes reforms in the municipal revenue system;
7. Advocates expansion of the federal housing program to include housing for middle-income groups.

Some salient points in the book:

1. Slums are everywhere: in cities, towns and on the farms. They are easily spotted by their characteristically high statistical rates of delinquency, disease and death.
2. Average housing standards in towns are lower than in cities, and lowest on the farms.

3. Until good housing is provided for low-income families on a large scale, razing the slums will not cure slum conditions. Public housing would syphon the slums, devalue slum buildings, and ripen the slums for economical taking by condemnation.
4. In a breakdown of housing costs per dwelling unit, the cost of financing stands highest, the cost of building materials ranks second, and the cost of labor runs third.
5. The cost of financing equals half the total amount cost of a dwelling unit.

The work includes many statistical references, a supplementary reading list, a summary of the report by the British Ministry of Works on land development for public welfare (the Uthwatt Report), and a reprint of the article "Public Purpose in Public Housing" (McDougal and Mueller, Yale Law Journal, Vol. LII, 1942, pp. 42-73). The latter discusses the legal and tax exemption aspects of public housing laws.

Straus, Nathan. Two-Thirds of a Nation. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1952. 291pp. Charts. Tables.

An updated and expanded sequel to his The Seven Myths of Housing in which Straus unravels the economic, social and political complexities of the housing problem in the United States and debunks the pervasive propaganda of the real-estate lobby.

Some points of the book:

1. American slums have endured because the building industry has built practically no new housing for the third lowest income group and for the great bulk of the middle third.
2. The gap between housing costs and income remains constant. Rent and income tend to rise and fall together.
3. The cost of housing production could be reduced by twenty to thirty percent provided outdated requirements imposed by obsolete building codes, banks, and craft unions were removed.
4. Prefabrication cannot materially reduce monthly housing costs because it concentrates on the house shell, that is, on half the total cost of a building.
5. Home ownership is hazardous to families in the lower income half, especially if the home is bought at an inflated price in an economic boom period.

Straus argues against high-density housing; shows the unity of housing and neighborhood and the reciprocal affect of the quality of one on the other; argues raising the design and construction standards of government-aided housing and government stimulus of city planning and urban renewal.

The book includes these articles:

"British Housing Policy" by Eric L. Bird; "The Housing Act of 1949 -- and Your Community" by Lee F. Johnson (a guide to the provision of the law and to the anti-public housing real-estate lobby tactics); "The Segregation Threat to Housing" by Charles Abrams (a history of housing segregation practices in the USA and the role of the United States housing program in fostering such segregation); "The Role of the States" by Chester Bowles.

Appendix A explains the use of a housing rent chart used to derive the rent per room out of building cost estimates. Appendix B consists of quotations from works by Sir Raymond Unwin on land values and housing densities.

Ratcliff, Richard U. "Filtering Down and the Elimination of Sub-standard Housing," Journal of Land and Public Utility Economics, Vol. XXI, No. 4, November 1945, pp. 322-330.

The real estate market cannot meet the housing needs of low-income groups by building new high-rent housing and filtering down the old high-income-group buildings to successively lower-income levels.

To function, the filtering process needs a surplus of vacant dwellings big enough not only to permit filtering but also to lower their price. Obsolescence, of itself, does not cause filtering down. Only when new and better housing appears on the market are old and obsolescent dwellings abandoned and sold cheaply to the next lower income groups who, in turn, move up from even older and more obsolescent dwellings. In a slow-growing or static community, therefore, little or no filtering occurs.

But even where fast growth is afoot, an oversupply, even at the bottom of the market, checks new construction until the surplus is absorbed and prices stiffen. Hence, filtering takes place only when demolition at the bottom roughly equals construction at some higher income level. Thus "filtering is a process which takes many years to be effective;...it is no quick cure to substandard housing ills." Even when it functions, the down-filtered housing, originally built at low standards, comes down altered, cut up, deteriorated, and unfit for decent living.

The filtering process "is not an easily controlled device nor is it likely to be effective" in solving the slum problem unless substandard housing is forcibly removed from the real estate market. Once the slums are cleared, the filtering process may maintain the "housing stock at a fairly constant quality level provided that housing is removed from the market as fast as it falls below minimum standards, and provided that in-migration of low-income families is not so rapid as to outstrip the product of the filtering process."

Fisher, Robert Moore. Twenty Years of Public Housing: Economic Aspects of the Federal Program. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1959. 303pp. Tables. Bibliography. Glossary of Terms.

Fisher defines the federal low-rent public housing program, discusses its origins, operations, achievements and failures, and identifies its friends and enemies. He measures the costs of the program to the federal and local governments and considers the degree to which the 1937 Housing Act succeeded in its three objectives: to eliminate substandard housing, provide adequate dwellings for low-income families, and alleviate unemployment.

Some of the study's findings and conclusions:

1. The program's complexity makes a full appraisal of its accomplishments, costs, and benefits impossible.
2. Public housing is a relatively small federal program. In 1957, its annual contributions equaled \$90.6 million. By contrast other grants-in-aid to the state and local governments totaled almost \$3 billion, and farm subsidies exceeded \$3.5 billion.
3. In 1957, the program had 2,710 active projects (comprising 534,594 new dwelling units) administered by 840 local housing authorities in 1,109 localities in 42 states, Alaska, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands. Nine out of ten cities of 250,000 people and over and one out of ten cities of 10,000 people or less had projects afoot.
4. The program eliminated about 400,000 substandard urban dwellings, or less than seven percent of the 5.6 million such units reported in the 1950 census (over twenty-two percent of the total housing stock) -- a rate of accomplishment that "would take nearly three centuries to eradicate all substandard accommodations...."
5. Public housing projects could not remain solvent even under full subsidy if they housed only lowest-income-group families. Yet, eviction of overincome families remains in force.

6. A relatively high number of eligible families have rejected public housing.
7. The low-rent housing program has never been administered as a device to alleviate unemployment.
8. Despite a per capita rise in real income, the "demand for substandard housing at bargain prices or rents...has continued...." Therefore obsolete dwellings are demolished only when land-use changes occur. "New units tend to be erected for growth rather than replacement. Rehabilitation of selected marginal dwellings rather than wholesale demolition accounts for most of the units eliminated from the substandard inventory."

Hill, Sidney. Housing Under Capitalism. (International Pamphlets No. 46). New York: International Publishers, 1935. 39pp.

Hill attributes the public concern with slum clearance to the depression-born civil unrest and business-group pressures for government aid. The government's and business groups' housing programs, he states, aim to pump prime the economy, save mortgage investments and real estate values, and spread the illusion of social reform. He explains the contradictions within capitalist society between social and market needs and shows that, through its housing program, the government has funnelled billions of dollars to banks and raised business profits, but produced little housing.

Liberals who promote reformist housing programs, says Hill, are blind to the government's kinship with business interests, and delude themselves and others into thinking that social planning is possible within the capitalist social order. As proof, he points to the European experience where reformist housing programs inflated construction prices and raised rents, defeating their purpose.

Hill warns organized labor to avoid making its housing program an end in itself, but make it, rather a part of its total struggle to raise the living standards of the working class and, ultimately, to change the social order.



Meyerson, Martin, and Barbara Terrett and William L.C. Wheaton. Housing, People, and Cities. ACTION Series in Housing and Community Development. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1962. 336pp. Charts. Tables. Bibliography.

This work, the eighth and culminating of the series,\* analyzes:

1. The importance of housing to the United States economy: employment and investment in housing construction, family expenditures on housing, proportional share in the economy; future opportunities for the housing industry; government economic policies and housing.
2. The housing market: old and new housing stock; kind of housing in the stock; housing market characteristics.
3. The economic behavior and wants of housing consumers and their implications to the housing industry.
4. The needs of disfranchised housing consumers -- the racial minorities and the aged.
5. Housing production and producers: divided and unco-ordinated management responsibility; barriers to improvement in housing construction; prefabrication; prerequisites for greater production efficiency.
6. Labor's role in home building: characteristics of, and trends in, the construction labor force and their effects on the future of the housing industry; the role of the building-industry unions.
7. Design, material, and methods in the housing industry: the pressures for, and reasons for the lack of, innovation in the industry.
8. Housing finance: sources; economic influences; opportunities for enlarging the pool of housing investment funds.
9. Rehabilitation: past experience and future prospects.
10. Rental housing: decline and its causes; potential housing market stimulants; need for financial incentives to builders.
11. Federal credit: past goals, forms, achievements, and failures; a plan for reappraisal and reorientation.
12. Politics and pressure groups: the political forces behind past federal housing policies and programs; a plea for an airing of objectives and constructive debate.
13. Municipal programs for urban development: a short history of the past fifty years; the broadening powers of municipal governments; the main tasks of municipal politics and administration.

14. Metropolitan organization and residential expansion: the spread of populations and municipal problems across city boundaries; the pros and cons of metropolitan government; alternative possibilities.
15. Possibilities for co-operation within the existing social and political framework.

The work presupposes five assumptions in its answer to the question: "what can be done to improve the quality and quantity of housing?"

"1. There exist neglected opportunities for profitable enterprise in housing. 2. The time is ripe for the industrialization of housing. 3. The consumer will respond to improvements in housing by spending more of his income for it. 4. The federal government can play its most effective role by fostering competition on the part of producers and investors, by widening the range of effective choice open to consumers, and by experimenting with and testing its own policies in housing and community development. 5. The impulse for change and the vitality to bring change about do exist in the... public and private leaders of the country and its urban communities."

The work includes a summary of the Housing Act of 1961.

\* The other seven works: Banfield and Grodzins, Government and Housing in Metropolitan Areas, 1958, 192pp.; Winnick, Rental Housing: Opportunities for Private Investment, 1957, 143pp.; Nash, Residential Rehabilitation: Private Profits and Public Purposes, 1959, 272pp.; Kelly and associates, Design and the Production of Houses, 1959, 428pp.; Haar, Federal Credit and Private Housing: The Mass Financing Dilemma, 1960, 408pp.; Foote et al, Housing Choices and Housing Constraints, 1960, 450pp.; Dyckman and Isaacs, Capital Requirements for Urban Development and Renewal, 1961, 334pp.; All published by McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York.

Grigsby, William G. Housing Markets and Public Policy.

Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1963.

345pp. Tables. Charts. Graphs. Selected references.

In his study of the structure and operation of the housing market, Grigsby develops a theoretical framework which he applies to analyze the relationships between the private housing market and public housing programs. The work examines the interrelationships and linkages among submarkets, the factors affecting occupancy changes, levels of maintenance, intensity of utilization, and volume of new construction. Grigsby outlines public policies he considers essential to sustain and enlarge the housing market and help meet a broader spectrum of housing needs.

"The study," says Grigsby, "is tentative and exploratory and reaches no firm conclusions." It seeks, chiefly, to throw light on housing-policy issues and to stimulate further research. It examines the use, reuse, alteration and resale of housing units and finds that the current housing stock tends to dominate the housing market. Because dwellings are durable and valuable, relatively few are demolished, hence few are added each year. This limits the rate of renewal and slows improvement in housing standards. Therefore, "to determine whether and how the pace of new construction might be stimulated...it is necessary to understand how changes within the housing supply takes place in various submarkets and...know more about the mobility and other strategic demand characteristics of the population residing in each of the submarkets."

Grigsby concludes that:

1. Poor knowledge of the market processes which determine its role in the economy, inhibits the home building industry.
2. The false theory of spreading blight and slums limits the federal housing program's potential effectiveness. In the past decade, with little aid from the urban renewal program, housing conditions had greatly improved. Although areas of physical blight may have grown, their densities have diminished.
3. Private enterprise cannot renew the cities alone; public intervention is needed. But urban renewal programs poorly consider the realities of the housing market. To improve housing standards, they must help meet the employment, education, and health needs of low-income families.
4. Urban renewal programs ignore market implications because their projects are initiated and directed by the central cities. Viewing movement to the suburbs as inimical to their interests, the latter gear renewal plans to arresting and reversing the flow. But suburbanization has

improved housing standards by speeding the rejection of the most obsolete structures in the cities. Properly guided by public policy, suburban growth would speed a genuine return to the center.

5. The cities provide adequate housing for perhaps four-fifths of their people. In two decades, if income rise and public intervention triggers private housing investment more skillfully, the slums will disappear.

Abrams, Charles. The Future of Housing. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1946. 428pp. Illustrated. Photos. Charts. Tables. Bibliography.

Abrams looks at the American housing problem at the end of World War II. In the first part of this five-part volume, he examines the historical background of "The Problem," since early settlement, in its several components: the building industry, the slum, the weaknesses of the home-ownership structure, the role of government, the impact of housing construction on the national and municipal economies, and the state of the housing market for the low-income groups. He catalogs American slums by their types, lists the reasons for their continued existence, describes their social costs, and reports the effects of rehousing slum dwellers in the British experience.

In Part II, he describes and analyzes "The Real Estate and Construction Enterprises" and the mortgage system, and their products: petty development, shoddy city planning, poor construction, inadequate repairs, recurring housing shortages, and slums.

Part III, "The Era of Enlightenment," traces the history of national concern over the housing problem, the evolution of thought and action toward its solution, and enlightenment in the business world and in the judicial and executive branches of the government.

Part IV discusses the principles of housing subsidies, and the housing agencies of the New Deal and World War II periods.

In Part V, looking "Toward Solution," Abrams relates housing to city planning. He proposes and discusses ten aims in the solution of the housing problem: a program within the framework of American democratic institutions, a revitalized building industry, housing for low-income families, urban redevelopment, rural slum clearance, sound home ownership, adequate rental housing, homes for veterans, a sound mortgage system, and stabilization of the real-estate pattern.

Some of the author's observations and recommendations:

1. The federal housing program, "once framed around a social purpose," has been corrupted. "Subsidies and other benefits intended for the masses are being diverted primarily to help entrepreneurs and landers." In Washington, "the government function in housing is conceived to be to underwrite private losses and insure private profits."
2. "The housing question will come into its true perspective only when translated into its larger political and economic implications." The real questions in housing are whether slum clearance is to benefit the slum dweller and how to make home ownership safe.
3. Rehousing programs must precede slum demolition. "Institutional design, segregation by income, color, and creed must be ended."
4. The public housing program should build individually owned homes as well as rental housing. Individual homes built by public agencies "would better secure the home buyer and insure the greater soundness of the neighborhood."
5. Public rental housing should be "desocialized" by conversion to cooperative housing thus "confering the greatest measure of control and responsibility upon the tenants."

Abrams, Charles. Forbidden Neighbors. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1955. 404pp.

A treatise on United States prejudices and discriminations in housing since the 19-th century to the 1950's: the discriminations against the Irish, Italians, Jews and Slavs during the "white migration" in the 19-th and early 20-th centuries; against Negroes during "the black migration" from the South to the North since World War I; against the Chinese and Japanese during the "Far Eastern influx"; against the Latin Americans during "the stream from the Gulf"; and against the Puerto Ricans since the start of the "Puerto Rican airlift"; the country's social and economic backgrounds during the respective migrations; and the negative effects of discrimination on the development of its cities and suburbs.

Abrams examines: 1) the effects of the federal housing policies, since the New Deal, on real estate business, home ownership, white racism, and the discrimination in housing against Negroes; 2) the FHA and the Home Loan Bank system as protectors of the all-white neighborhood; 3) the cross influence and mutual support between the politically powerful real estate boards and the federal housing bureaucracy; 4) the rise of the "racist theory of value" and the spread

of racist folklore among real estateors, mortgage lenders, insurance companies, and white home owners; 5) the racist role of local home-improvement and civic associations; 6) the development, since World War II, of subtle discriminatory methods to avoid judicial attack; 7) the perversion of city planning and the use of local administrative and governmental devices to serve discriminatory purposes; 8) the redevelopment program (Title I of the 1949 Housing Act) as a means of getting rid of "the undesirables" through destruction of Negro housing.

Abrams exposes each prejudice in the segregationist folklore and refutes its fallacies. He reviews the United States Supreme Court decision record on discrimination and concludes that the Court "offers no certain protection to minorities.... A favorable public opinion is essential.... Only in such a climate...can the Court become a greater protection...."

The author reviews the gains and failures of the federal public housing program and holds that it alone has contributed to the racial integration in housing. He proposes a national education campaign against discrimination and outlines a twelve-point action program to overcome prejudice and discrimination in housing.

Rosow, Irving. "The Social Effects of the Physical Environment." Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Vol. XXVII, No. 2, May 1961, pp. 127-133. 43 References.

A review of 1935-1957 sociological studies of new housing and urban communities. It draws the following conclusions for housing design and community planning practice:

1. In large housing projects livability is improved primarily by better housekeeping facilities and secondarily by community facilities and subtleties in plan and design.
2. Privacy and spaciousness are held in lesser value by working class than by middle class and upper class groups, but are essential for study activities within the home.
3. Better housing reduces social pathology (crime, delinquency) and morbidity (disease, mortality) among former slum dwellers, but does not change previous social patterns or affect community integration.
4. Interracial integration is a product of residential and social stability. High mobility among the American working class slows integration in new housing projects.
5. In integrated housing projects, interracial contact reduces hostility but not division. Racially integrated communities merely regroup habitual social relations into new settings.
6. Lack of research leaves unknown the effects of aesthetically pleasing environments on people's moods, their tolerance thresholds, and the texture of their social interactions.

Taeuber, Karl E. and Alma F. Negroes in Cities: Residential Segregation and Neighborhood Change. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1965. 284pp. Tables. Charts.

A sociological study of residential segregation and racial succession in American cities. Using 1960 and earlier census data, it analyzes racially changing neighborhoods in ten cities, compares and contrasts neighborhood changes in many other cities, going back more than a century, and explains the nature and causes of intercity variations in segregation and succession patterns.

Some of the study's findings and conclusions:

1. Although it varies from city to city, residential segregation endures in American cities. Even rapid economic and other social advances among nonwhites do not change the pattern of racial segregation appreciably. Negro ghettos are expanding rather than disappearing, and segregation in housing remains a major barrier to social equality. Throughout the country, in large cities and small, residential segregation imposes difficulties in race relations and in the solution of pressing urban problems.
2. In every city, a tight housing market ups segregation, a permissive one lowers it. Between 1910 and 1950 segregation levels had risen; but they have been dropping since 1950 following supply increases in the housing market and a rise in the size and income of the Negro population.
3. Rural in-migrants to cities, black and white, form an insignificant minority. Most in-migrants to a city, of both races, are highly urbanized former residents of another. They display similar patterns of residential behavior and respond similarly to national social and economic factors.
4. Housing segregation and succession patterns in the South differ from those in the North. In southern cities, where Negro in-migration is low and new housing is built in confined Negro ghettos, few Negroes move into white neighborhoods. In the densely built up northern cities, rapidly growing Negro populations congest existing ghettos and force movement into nearby white neighborhoods. In the South, high-status Negroes tend to live in predominantly Negro areas; in the North, they live usually in high-status neighborhoods outside the ghettos. As southern cities grow, the patterns of racial succession typical of the North may spread. In the North, urban renewal and rehabilitation, open-housing laws, and higher incomes among Negroes may cause residential segregation to slowly decline. But the slow decline portends continuing conflict over segregation in housing which is "a particularly tenacious barrier to full participation of Negroes in the general society."



Rapkin, Chester. "The Heart of the Matter: More Housing for Negroes." The Mortgage Banker. Vol. 24, No. 5, February 1964, pp. 21-25.

Rapkin explores the potential affects of a growing Negro middle class and evolving white and non-white attitudes on future housing demand, neighborhood change, and population distribution in cities and suburbs.

Among his observations and conclusions:

1. Rising white-collar employment and income among Negro families strengthened middle-class values, behavior, and desire for home ownership for the economy, status, and better home and neighborhood it affords.
2. Negro home ownership increased mostly along the edges of Negro ghettos in the older sections of cities. The homes were bought from whites who either moved to the suburbs or were landlords of rented houses in transitional areas.
3. While home ownership improved the housing conditions of educated and skilled Negroes, the reverse is true for the untrained and unskilled.
4. Exclusion from a large proportion of the housing market puts all Negroes at a disadvantage. The 1960 census shows that all non-white families in metropolitan areas spend more of their income for less floor area of poorer quality than white families do.
5. Whites resist Negroes who try to move into units similar to or better than those they inhabit. Negroes renting visibly poorer housing meet little or no resistance.
6. In the near future, discrimination in housing can be reduced mainly by government intervention and effective enforcement of anti-discrimination laws.
7. In cities having anti-discrimination laws, experience shows no radical changes in economic, social and residential patterns. Gradual non-white dispersion, rather than inundation of white neighborhoods, occurred.
8. Unlike ethnic groups who seek to protect their alien cultures in voluntary ghettos, American Negroes share the American cultural heritage. Once freed from their white-imposed ghettos, their choice of a place to live will probably resemble that of other Americans of similar income.
9. Satisfaction of the Negro middle-class urge for new-home ownership would affect the economy favorably. Accumulated demand for private homes among non-white families of \$7,000 to \$10,000 annual income equals about 200,000 units -- one-eighth of the annual construction of all housing units and one-sixth of one-family homes. Were this backlog made up, new construction would increase two to three per cent per year for a decade.



Klutznick, Philip M. "The Provision of Shelter." The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 314, November 1957, pp. 39-45.

Considering current trends of rising incomes and population, transportation improvement, and expansion of cities, a former commissioner of the Federal Public Housing Authority sees a needed annual production of two to three million new housing units in the next twenty-five years. He predicts greater federal aid in financing construction of private and public housing and city renewal, and expects little improvement in housing design and construction methods.

Frieden, Bernard J. The Future of Old Neighborhoods. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The M.I.T. Press, 1964, 209pp. Graphs. Tables. Charts.

Frieden describes his study of city slum neighborhoods and of upper-income group attraction to in-city housing in New York City, Los Angeles and Hartford, Connecticut. The study tests the hypothesis (and its supporting assumptions) that slum rebuilding problems are "a product of powerful economic forces pushing land prices out of line with land values for renewal." The author's analysis of land costs and values, under a variety of local conditions, suggests that the basic problems are not economical but environmental and social. If it is true that the desire for social, economic and racial segregation is the driving force in the upper-income housing market then the prospects for rebuilding the slums are poor. There is no alternative, then, to either abandoning the slums to long neglect or rebuilding them through mass clearance of "unwanted neighbors." But the existence of many socially mixed neighborhoods casts doubts on this assumption. In fact, little is known about the influence of social prejudice in the market for new housing. Research is needed on the question "how Americans want to live in cities, how they select neighborhood locations, and how determined they are to live apart from people who are different."

Frieden challenges the current government policy of slum clearance without concomitant large-scale construction of subsidized housing for low-income groups. Slum neighborhoods, he points out, "serve as zones of passage for low-income groups new to urban life." Large-scale migration of rural Negroes to the cities -- a migration that may continue for decades -- has augmented the need for low-income housing.

Based purely on economic considerations and current class- and racial-prejudice assumptions, two alternatives are now open to public policy for renewal of gray areas in the central cities: (1) A policy of subsidized clearance of slum housing and its replacement with upper-income, high-tax yielding housing, and (2) a policy of waiting for utter decay and abandonment of slum buildings to cause slum

property prices to drop to levels attractive to developers even without government subsidies. Frieden rejects the first for its mass uprooting and social disorganization of low-income families. He rejects the second for its cost to cities in maintaining city services over long periods of slow decay and depopulation in old neighborhoods. He proposes instead a public policy of gradual and continuous rebuilding of slum neighborhoods keeping pace with abandonment of obsolete housing within them. Such rebuilding is economically feasible he finds, because upper-income demand for housing in central-city neighborhoods continues strong. He examines the problems inherent in a program of gradual slum rebuilding and the public policies necessary to implement it.

Some of the author's findings and conclusions:

1. Two important factors tend to reduce the attractiveness of in-city areas for new upper-income housing and, therefore, retard rebuilding in old neighborhoods: (a) the proximity of vacant land to the downtown core, and (b) new highways that decrease travel time between vacant land and the core without crowding traffic in central locations.
2. The downtown core should be strengthened to stimulate upper-income demand for new in-city housing (improved employment opportunities, expanded service and recreational facilities, better access from old neighborhoods to downtown or other activity centers, better schools, parks and playgrounds in the old neighborhoods).
3. The upper-income demand for in-city housing must be high enough to consume the cleared land.
4. Clearing slum land for rebuilding must take little in public subsidies, i.e., the earning power of the new land use must justify its acquisition cost.
5. Where preferences for in-city housing run high, central sites can be renewed at development costs higher than those in the suburbs. Where the preference is low, development and operating costs in old neighborhoods must stay longer than those in the suburbs to attract upper-income tenants to in-city housing.

Of the book's three appendixes one quotes population and housing statistics for the New York, Los Angeles, and Hartford regions. The second cites rates of land utilization for new apartment housing in the three study areas. The third reviews theoretical works on urban structure and the location of new housing.

Winnick, Louis. Rental Housing: Opportunities for Private Investment. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1958, 286pp. Tables. Charts.

Winnick examines the reasons for the great decline, in the past generation, in private rental housing construction, assesses the market forces that might either continue or reverse this trend, and indicates the policy changes needed to expand the volume of private rental construction.

Federal housing policy, the author notes, has always favored home buyers over renters. This policy, and the increase in the supply of cheap suburban land made accessible by expanded mass transit and auto use, served to foster home ownership. But small home development in the suburbs approaches the limits of convenient commuting distances from the center. Since 1951, the site costs of new homes rose from twelve to eighteen percent.

The federal policy, Winnick thinks, had spread the suburbs too fast. Both cities and suburbs might have coped better with their post-war population changes had the government favored home ownership less and rental housing more.

The current dearth in rental homes is growing worse, for the inventory of old mansions and large suites which partly met the rising need for new apartments through conversion, is rapidly vanishing. This, the shrinking supply of cheap land, and the decline in home construction make a change in federal housing policy imperative for the good of the national economy.

Several factors, explains Winnick, conspired to drop private rental building: discriminating zoning laws, unfavorable income-tax policy, high real estate taxes, and rent controls. Above all, new investment opportunities have raised the investor profit demand on apartment construction to fifteen or twenty percent. Big long-term mortgages cannot be had without government insurance. This is why "the FHA has dominated apartment construction since the war, accounting for two-thirds of apartment building up to 1954."

Rental housing, thinks Winnick, should be vastly expanded, for on it depends the future development of cities. But "the rental housing market must remain essentially in private hands, with the role of government limited to removing existing impediments, to facilitating the flow of investment into rental housing, and to permitting the consumer to exercise his choice of tenure on more equal terms than now prevail."

With these assumptions, Winnick levels a well documented attack on current FHA policy and offers several recommendations. Among them:

1. Increase the flow of equity and mortgage capital through organizations designed to facilitate the flow of capital from investors and to serve as clearinghouses for real-estate investment facts.

2. Give special income-tax treatment for dividends from new rental projects.
3. Increase demand for rental housing by reducing its price and improving its quality.
  - a) Grant equal income-tax and property-tax treatment to home owners and renters.
  - b) Provide better neighborhood community facilities: transport, recreation, and shopping.
  - c) Offer better design, layout, equipment, construction, site planning, services, on-site amenities, air-conditioning, multiple bathrooms, and larger floor areas.

Of the work's two appendixes Appendix A cites "Income and Expenses of Apartment Houses in Chicago, 1936 to 1956." Appendix B reports "Operating Experience in FHA 608 Rental Projects, 1951 to 1956."

Wendt, Paul F. Housing Policy: The Search for Solutions. Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1963, 283pp. Tables. Charts.

Wendt reviews and evaluates the postwar national housing programs of England, Sweden, West Germany and the United States.

#### England

England added substantially to its housing stock but at lower annual rates than the record levels of the prewar years. Most of the added stock is publicly owned. Predominantly in private hands before the war, England's housing was almost one-quarter publicly owned by 1959. Postwar building of high-rise rental housing raised the percentage of tenant occupancy in the total housing supply. While the quality of rental housing declined and apartment size decreased about ten percent, convenience standards improved.

British housing, states Wendt, became enmeshed in complex governmental controls. He attributes the success its slum clearance programs have had to the broad redevelopment power granted to local authorities, to the competence and integrity of their staffs, and to the housebuilding industry. "The legacy of rent controls, and of public responsibility and domination of housebuilding," laments Wendt, "promises to haunt the political arena for many years and will deter the early revival of a vigorous and healthy private housebuilding industry in the United Kingdom."

Sweden

Compared with prewar years, Sweden increased the proportion of its four-room-and-larger apartments in its predominantly small-apartment housing supply. Convenience standards improved -- over ninety percent of new dwellings had central heating and private bathrooms. In recent years, about ninety-five percent of new housing was financed by low-interest state loans. Thirty percent of new housing was initiated by public agencies between 1949 and 1956 compared with six percent between 1935 and 1940. Average housing costs had declined from twenty-two percent of consumer income in 1932 to thirteen percent in 1955.

Of the four countries examined, Sweden's percentage of government expenditures on housing was the highest. Its postwar record housing production, thinks Wendt, proves the effectiveness of combined public control over housebuilding and financing, generous state subsidies for improving housing standards, and a vigorous cooperative housing program.

West Germany

To overcome its severe postwar housing shortage, West Germany consistently offered low-interest loans and tax incentives to stimulate private competitive investment in housing. It maintained rent controls, but upped rents as construction costs rose.

United States

The government housing programs and expanding family income produced a great volume of new high-rent housing and increased home ownership, raising the housing standards of upper-income groups. But the housing needs of low-income families remained largely unmet.

Conclusions

1. Large-scale government intervention increases the volume of housing construction over what would otherwise come about.
2. In a democracy, political imperatives influence housing policy as much as economic imperatives do.
3. In the four countries examined, government housing policies aimed to lower consumer housing outlays rather than reduce construction costs.
4. Keeping rents below the level of current construction costs discourages the private housebuilding industry and tends to lower maintenance standards of privately owned rental housing.

5. The housing policies and programs of England, Sweden and West Germany succeeded more than those of the United States in raising the housing standards of low-income groups. The United States should adopt them and: a) grant income-tax subsidies to encourage investment in low-income housing; b) grant rent subsidies to families who cannot afford good housing; and c) encourage housing cooperatives through technical and loan assistance.

Duncan, Beverly and Philip M. Hauser. Housing a Metropolis: Chicago. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1960, 278pp. Tables. Graphs. Charts. Bibliography.

The authors analyze the 1950-1956 housing conditions in metropolitan Chicago and compare them with those in the metropolitan areas of New York, Philadelphia, Los Angeles, Boston and Detroit, and the cities of Chicago and Philadelphia. Although based primarily on statistical data for Chicago, the authors think their study has wider implications since their "comparative analysis of patterns of change in the housing inventory of the six largest SMA's (Standard Metropolitan Areas as defined by the Bureau of the Census) and two cities brings out striking inter-area similarities."

The study is based on the National Housing Inventory Survey conducted by the Bureau of the Census at the close of 1956 and the Chicago supplements thereto. It has a dual purpose: (1) To describe the patterns of change in the size and composition of metropolitan housing inventories during the early 1950's, the relationship of income to housing of whites and nonwhites, and the housing of families at different stages of the family life cycle. (2) To discuss methodology, the nature of the available statistics and the pitfalls in their interpretation, and to illustrate a variety of techniques for manipulating them. The work also presents a short review of housing reforms begun in the 1930's and of the population movement to metropolitan areas before and after World War II and its impact on housing.

Among the study's major findings and conclusions:

1. The general housing situation improved in the six metropolitan areas during the 1950-1956 period. Urban renewal demolition did not, apparently, worsen the housing shortage. Despite a four percent loss of the 1950 housing inventory during this period, the number of available vacancies rose in each of the six metropolitan areas while the proportion of substandard dwellings dropped.
2. In the housing inventory, the ratio of home ownership gained over rental dwellings. More homes were built in small houses than in apartment buildings while much of the new rental housing was offset by demolition and other losses.

3. These statistical facts stand out in the relationship between income and housing:

a) As family incomes rise, increases are observed in home ownership, the proportion of normal families (married couples and their relatives), and the size of the family; decreases are observed in substandard housing, the proportion of nonwhite families, and the proportion of families headed by persons 65 and over.

b) Lower-income families paid a higher proportion of their income in rent for substandard dwellings, and a higher proportion still if they lived in standard housing.

c) Only one-fifth of low-income families were home owners and their homes were classified substandard. Of the low-income families who rented, one-third lived in substandard dwellings.

4. A comparison between the housing of white and nonwhite families showed that:

a) Discrimination in the housing market and segregation augment the problems of housing the growing nonwhite population in metropolitan areas.

b) Nonwhites pay more than whites for housing of the same quality and size. Landlords of substandard dwellings drew a fifteen-dollar per month bonus for renting to nonwhites.

c) Of the one-third of low-income families who lived in substandard dwellings, half were nonwhite.

d) Four times as many nonwhite families lived in crowded dwellings as white families. White households had relatively high proportions of small normal families and persons living alone. Nonwhite households had relatively high proportions of large normal families, a typical family group, and persons sharing dwellings with non-relatives.

e) The suburbs, where housing conditions were generally good, were almost exclusively white residential areas.

f) Nonwhites gained additional housing by moving into dwellings vacated by whites rather than by occupying new dwellings.

5. Study of the housing of families at different stages of the family life cycle revealed that:

a) A high proportion of low-income young couples lived in substandard dwellings. The proportion dropped as families expanded, and increased slightly among older couples whose children have left the parental home.



b) Home ownership, single-family home occupancy, and new-house occupancy increased as families expanded and decreased slightly as families contracted.

c) A third of single older persons and a fourth of those living with relatives, occupied substandard dwellings. The same was true of young persons living alone or with nonrelatives.

d) The current income of older families and older persons living alone was lower than that of the younger, and the ratio of the rent to current income among the old were relatively high.

Rodwin, Lloyd. Housing and Economic Progress: A Study of the Housing Experiences of Boston's Middle-Income Families. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press & Technology Press, 1961. 228pp. Maps. Charts. Tables. Bibliography.

A statistical study and systematic analysis of the housing experiences of middle-class families. Challenging some widely accepted views, Rodwin submits that most housing problems stem from rising family incomes coupled with failures in the housing-production mechanism. According to Rodwin, rising family incomes prompt growth of families and raise standards of housing demand. And these in turn, increase the desires for and problems of ownership, and create housing shortages, controversy over rent controls, debate about suburbia, the dilemma of "gray" areas, and the current efforts at urban renewal.

To illustrate his thesis, Rodwin presents Boston statistical and other data on middle-income family expenditures, trends in housing costs, rent levels, housing standards, land-use patterns, middle-income housing movements, tenure issues, the role of building and loan associations, the impact of government policies on housing and rent control, and the effect of economic progress on homes and neighborhoods.

Liblit, Jerome (Editor). Housing -- the Cooperative Way. New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc., 1964. 300pp. Graphic charts.

A collection of papers on cooperative housing drawn from various sources.

Liblit divides the book into five sections. The first, "Cooperative Principles and Practices," contains essays on the origins of cooperation, the theories on which it rests, and the incidence of cooperative enterprise in the United States. The second, "Why Cooperative Housing," deals with the history, benefits and qualities of cooperative housing in Europe and America. The third, "Organization and Operation of a Housing Co-op," takes up a wide range of matters from the



functions and duties of directors to racial integration. The fourth, "A Structure of Cooperative Housing Development," describes how cooperatives are formed, offers a critique and defense of cooperative housing, and lists the principal cooperative promotion agencies. The fifth, "Cooperative Housing in the Nation's Largest City," chronicles cooperative housing in New York City. An appendix includes model by-laws, a model subscription agreement and typical financial documents.

Abrams, Charles. Man's Struggle for Shelter in an Urbanizing World. The Joint Center for Urban Studies of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Harvard University. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The M.I.T. Press, 1964. 307pp. Illustrated.

A comprehensive treatise of the housing problem in developing countries.

Old social and economic structures in Asia, Africa and Latin America are breaking down, observes Abrams, as starving millions from backward hinterlands invade their cities faster than the latter can absorb them. Defiantly squatting on urban land, they are having "a political impact...in sensitive areas." In rural areas, where land and local materials are ample, people build their own housing. But in cities, where land and housing are expensive commodities, low paid workers and the unemployed "often have to choose between food and roof." Hence, the more industrialized and urbanized a nation the greater its housing problem.

First, Abrams reviews urban land use in western countries: its history; misuse and mismanagement; speculation, high prices, and their effects; governmental response to pressures for land reform; and changes in urban land acquisition and tenure. Then, he describes attempts at land and housing reforms in developing countries: the obstacles they face; cause of rising land costs; speculation controls; problems of city administration and personnel; and the lack of financing machinery. Finally, he warns poor countries against imitation of British and American slum clearance schemes and cautions them to provide, first, a maximum of cheap homes. "Clearance should be the second, not the first, phase of a housing program...."

Abrams points to the kind of foreign help the poor nations need and reproves the United States and western nations for their failure to aid housing and urban development in the developing countries. The reasons for this failure, he thinks are: 1) Foreign aid has been military, prestige, and trade oriented; 2) Concern for social and political stability has arisen only whenever the threat of communism has emerged; 3) The cost has seemed "astronomic (and) endless"; 4) Influential western and local economists have held that production of shelter and urban development "should be solely the residual outgrowth of industrialization."

To these nations Abrams recommends: public housing on vacant land; urban renewal coupled with vast housing programs; new towns "sufficiently varied in industries, opportunities, and interests to have (their) own polar influences"; a housing financing system that would tap domestic and foreign financial sources; no sole reliance on slow self-help and mutual aid in meeting emergency housing needs; the use of several planned core-housing and installment-construction schemes; education and research in urban affairs, with a high priority given to development of program and policy and a comparative science of urbanization.

Examining the relation between development planning and housing, he defines terms and analyzes development theories, the aims of national housing policies, and the ways of implementing housing programs. Some of his conclusions:

1. Ideally, the United Nations should sponsor urban development in poor countries. Neither the United States nor the Soviet Union can do it single-handed.
2. Housing and urbanization require "mobilization of each country's own resources of land, skills, materials, savings and finance mechanisms."
3. "Sending...specialized technicians to a country before its legal and institutional patterns are devised is generally a waste of time."
4. "Slums, homelessness, and overcrowding (afflict all industrial countries). The greater the industrialization, the greater the housing problem, and it matters little what political system ushered in the industrialization."
5. Unless housing productivity and income are raised simultaneously "the gap between shelter cost and capacity to pay will continue unbridged for most workers."

The author describes the changes in land-use policy and legal concepts that urbanization pressures have forced within both the capitalist and socialist systems. Most developing nations, he observes, "have recognized the need for more state intervention to improve housing and living conditions" but have maintained, so far, the right of private ownership in land and buildings.

Concerned lest socialist ideology win over capitalism, Abrams warns the western powers: "There is no more fertile ground for revolutionary propaganda than the beleaguered cities of the underdeveloped nations...it is toward the cities...that revolutionary propaganda is being directed."

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